A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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Keep to Yourselves.

I beg of you, you invaders,
Keep to yourselves henceforth!
Trample not upon my hands
While I shape nature's matter
Into things that give me joy and comfort,
And that ease the ceaseless grind of time
Upon my useful years and power to gratify
My own needs and wants and fancies
At the cost of my own sweat.

I plead with you to cease befuddling me with your laws
And your courts and your multifarious institutions,
As they dizzy me and take my attention
From more useful things.
I know not the perplexing paths
To wealth I have not worked for;
And the ways of getting most when least is done
Are to me like logarithms to an infant.
And I doubt they would add to my fund of useful knowledge.

In my simplicity I but know that I live,
That bounteous nature yields to my efforts
As willingly as she yields to yours.
I know that my efforts are not your efforts,
And their results should not be your riches.
I know that nature did not make the earth for you
Any more than for me,
And that I am wronging no one
By using of it what no one else is using.

If you step on my hands while I manipulate nature things
I shall softly warn you not to do so again.
If I stand up like a man to take the kinks from my labored back
I shall tell you I don't like it if you stamp on my feet.
If you repeat the offense I shall push you off ungently.
If again ye do it I shall smite you
With the storm and strength of athletic justice,
And the blame shall rest upon you
As upon one who invokes the inevitable.
I beg of you, you invaders,
Keep to yourselves henceforth!

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

—o—

Aspects of Trades Unionism.

In the early days of the trades union movement in America, it had a more militant character than is true of the trades unionism of today. At that time its novelty and radicalism greatly terrified the employing bosses, so that the union wage worker and the employer were constantly, so to speak, on a military footing; and the slightest disturbance led to the use of State troops, or the equally obnoxious private army of the bosses, (commissioned by the State,) the Pinkertons, on a "shoot to kill" basis. The trades union movement then also shared that persecution experienced by all new social and religious factions, which only tended to increase the devotion and fanaticism of the adherent; intensifying his hatred of the wage system and his determination to emancipate himself from it.

Most trades unionists at that time also cherished a revolutionary aim, vague tho it was: and this, coupled with the constant zeal of instilling the new principles, and the acute character of the clashes of labor with capital, gave the whole trades union movement a more militant and inspiring character than it has at the present time.

Strikes and lockouts have now become common, and less exciting as a rule; the bosses have become more accustomed to the labor unions, and so resort less frequently to the militia; injunctions having to a large extent displaced the militia; and these are called out only when strikes on a large scale take place; besides which a number of unions are priding themselves on having become more or less "conservative," and the counsel is frequently heard among them that trades unionism settle down to a "business institution."

However pleasent such a prospect is to those complacent "labor leaders" of the milk-and-honey type, we know that this is, fortunately, impossible. Labor unions must either make inroads on capitalism, and thus provoke a great and stubborn conflict, or else remain harmless non-entities, in which case they cannot continue to exist: nor would they have an excuse therefor.

We can see everywhere that, the more the workingmen succeed in achieving, the more they demand. Thus some of the newly organized unions modestly demand a ten hour day instead of eleven, with either no increase of pay or perhaps only a few cents; soon, however, they boldly demand eight hours and a substantial increase in wages. The older and more powerful unions, whose members work under better conditions than the new ones, make larger demands. The eight-hour day, tho but a few years ago only a cherished dream, does not mean the end of the workers' desires. Demands for seven and a half hours, and seven hours a day become more frequent with the achievement of the eight-hour day. The capitalists seem to be perfectly aware of this, and hence make the most determined resistance at the start.

All signs indicate that in the near future the trades unions of this country will be forced into a great struggle to maintain their existence. The employers are everywhere rapidly organizing to resist the demands of trades unions. Those associations of bosses that have hitherto paid slight attention to the labor question, are apparently pushing the problem of unionism and wages to the front. There is little doubt that within a short time the various employers' associations will take an aggressive attitude, and make a vigorous fight to down the wage workers. There is no mistaking their aim: the crushing of the laborer and the domination of the capitalist. It will be a fight for mastery on the one side, and indedendence on the other.

But what definite object have the trades unions to bring into this conflict? Higher wages and shorter hours must have a limit somewhere, even if high wages were not to a certain extent annihilated by high prices. A negative struggle for mere existence is neither a practical nor a possible one in the long run. Clearly then the trades unions must have some definite aim to strive for. By this I do not mean playing with politics and chasing promises of politicians, but a well-defined object possible of attainment thru their economic power. Let every trades unionist aspire to emancipate himself from wage slavery, from exploitation, and the arrogant dominion of the capitalist. Let there be no vain and fancied compromise with bondage; capital demands complete mastery; let the worker demand complete freedom. Let the worker who produces all, demand mutual cooperation in production and consumption, instead of ameliorated exploitation.

I do not advocate here any system or program, Single Tax, Socialism, or Communism; I wish only that the trade unionist should learn to desire his freedom, and understand what it means; and then he will know himself how to acquire it in his own common sense way. ABE ISAAK JR.

—o—

A Little Journey.

III

On my way to Philadelphia I had the pleasure of visiting an Anarchist "summer resort," a lonely tent located in the New Jersey woods surrounding a little lake—an ideal spot for those weary of life's drudgery, conventionality, hypocrisy, vulgarity, and prudish mockery, as Comrade Emma Goldman portrayed the place of refuge. Vile puritanism, such as the perverted morality of today promulgates, had no place there; and yet true virtue was never less profaned than here, where, early in the morning, when the glowing rays of the rising sun were emerging from the water, male and female enjoyed the dashing waves without un-

comfortable bathing suits—the veil of the impure mind.

* * *

Philadelphia, aside from its suburbs, is an old-fashioned city; and the unadorned and uniform buildings make a gloomy impression upon the stranger. Piety, the mother of hypocrisy, lurks in every corner; and the whole city seems to be infected with puritanism, the enemy of art and beauty, progress and a healthy life. Hand in hand with religious bigotry go corruption in the city administration and the infamy of capitalist greed. Every manfacturer seems to be imbued with Baerism—the idea that God has entrusted the workers to him to fleece to the utmost. The capitalist of this city of "brotherly love" (what irony!) seems to be utterly void of humanitarian sentiments, as could be witnessed during the recent strike of the textile workers. The agony of missery, the cries of women and children, did not appeal to him in the least. But he is a great stickler for ostentatious morality. The saloons are closed on Sunday, that is till 12 o'clock at night. The beer-bottling business is consequently flourishing; and those who are not in a condition to supply themselves with beverages on a wholesale scale, can be seen standing before the saloons at midnight, when they are permitted to quench their thirst. That this robs them of their sleep and leads many of them to celebrate a "blue Monday" is obvious; but such trifling matters do not concern the lawmakers, whose cellars are well supplied with all kinds of intoxicants. It is only the wage slave who cannot be trusted with the opportunity to cope with "temptations."

But the aspect becomes brighter when we turn to the comrades in Philadelphia, who are always in the front rank in the way of propaganda. And nowhere are the relations among the Anarchists of all nationalities more harmonious and fraternal than here. Their whole ambition seems to be to diffuse Anarchist ideas, combined with the desire to acquire knowledge, which accounts for the appreciation of Comrade C. L. James' "Vindication of Anarchism" they expressed. In the way of regular meetings they have not been able to do much, owing to police persecution; but thousands of leaflets and pamphlets are being distributed; and Comrades George Brown and James Myers—the two champion speakers—avail themselves of street meetings, and they have done considerable propaganda work during the strike of the textile workers. They are the terror of Socialist and Single Tax politicians.

The "soul" of the Anarchist activity, tho, seems to be our well-known Natasha Notkin—a genuine Russian girl. She has only one passionate ambition in life: to work for Anarchism, the uplifting of down-trodden humanity! She is "married to the movement," as she expresses it, and has no time to spare for "love affairs," yet all love her for kindness, honesty and perseverence.

It would, of course, have been almost a sacrilege not to visit the Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell—the two relics of bygone democracy. But I was utterly disappointed. The walls of the hall are decorated with portraits (mostly life-size) of men who became famous in their positions as so-called warriors. King George, the idiotic enemy of American independence, occupies a prominent place, while Thomas Paine, who has done more for freedom than all the manslaughterers combined, can hardly be found. Liberty Bell was cracked, as is well known, when the false alarm of freedom was made over a hundred years ago, and was once sold to a junk-dealer, and would perhaps have vanished altogether—just as liberty vanished with the first shrill sound of the broken bell—if it had not been for the premeditation of the junk-dealer, who preserved the relic. It has since, when imperialism lifted its head and was in need of a sacred keepsake, been used to divert the attention of the deluded citizens from the infamous machinations of government and its underlings. And this piece of junk is already doing good service in arousing jingoism, the spirit of murder, and reverence for the "free institutions" existing only on parchment, as we have seen recently in Massachusetts at the unveiling of a warrior's monument. Liberty Bell was taken to the scene, and the "dear people," whose enthusiasm could not be aroused at the sight of the statue of a manslaughterer, were seized with paroxysms when the relic appeared in the parade. And it is only a matter of time, if people do not awaken soon, when Independence Hall will be a sacred place of pilgrimage and worship where all those afflicted with maladies will find relief. Already, I was told, a man coming from the far west took off his shoes before he entered Independence Hall. And with the growth of imperialism and despotism will reverence for the old relics increase among the "lowly." A. I.

(To be continued.)

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Random Shots.

Those brilliant minds who have discovered that "mob law is one form of Anarchy" should absorb the logic of their own definition. But why are they so oppressively silent concerning the *other* "form of Anarchy" which is *not* mob law?

* * *

Next year is pregnant with the radiant prospects of a presidential campaign, and the politicians are already getting in line to "set the woods afire," and vociferously "rally agin Heagler." Now is the time for the Anarchists to get under the lime-light focus, by holding a national convention of their own. A conference, held, say, in Chicago about the time the political party pow-wows are being called would attract public notice to our existence and afford an excellent opportunity for some effective propaganda of our principles.

* * *

That eminent Anglo-American, Andrew Carnegie, bobs up expressly to inform the universe that the American revolution was all a mistake, and that the union of the United States and Great Britain under one flag is a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. He predicts this will be an accomplished fact before many years. However, Andy's range of vision is too narrow. It is the union of humanity that is coming. It is the Republic of Man that is casting its shadow athwart the future. The Anglo-Saxon empire may be the dream of the British-American money kings and imperialists, but there is one thing that forever blocks its path—the spirit of progress. The world empires passed with Rome; the future promises only the brotherhood of man.

* * *

The Church is true to its traditions. In every conflict between oppressors and oppressed the Church has invariably been on the side of power and privilege and the consistent foe of liberty and progress. So we may read without surprise the recent sermon of the Rev. James M. Buckley, editor of the Methodist *Christian Advocate*, in which he makes an attack upon the trades unions, styling them the greatest and most arrogant of trusts. He predicts a "coming crash," and hints darkly at a bloody class struggle in the near future. From his sanctimonious rhodomontade of sermonized slush I extract this choice morsel:

> The only solution of these great labor problems is in the practical application of Christian principles. The rich man must regard the poor man as his brother, and the latter *must serve the rich with faithfulness, diligence, and sincerity.*

There you have it with brutal frankness. We have aforetime been treated to a vast deal of platitudinal flubdub concerning "the practical application of Christian principles" as a solution of the class struggle; but at last a foremost contemporary exponent of Christian orthodoxy, abandoning the ambuscade of verbal ambiguity, comes boldly in the open and illuminates the hitherto obscurity of "Christian principles" with a plain and simple definition of its meaning. "The practical application of Christian principles" signifies simply that "the rich man must regard the poor man as his brother, and the latter must SERVE the rich with faithfulness," etc., etc. This being thus, we no longer wonder at John D. Rockefeller, Jr. being a pious Sunday school class leader, or that nearly all of our multi-millionaires are patrons of the Church. *They* simply believe in the "practical application of Christian principles."

* * *

The only fault I find with the Rev. Dr. Buckley's definition of Christian principles (and, after all, I may be hypercritical,) is the use he makes of the word "brother." Why should the rich men be required to recognize the poor man as his brother? Is not the poor man to serve the rich with faithfulness, etc.? Is it meet that one should exact servitude of his brother? The relation of master and servant is not the conception of brotherhood, even in our age of conventional paradox. Shall the rich man recognize the poor man as a brother, and then deny to that brother an equal seat at the family table? Doubtless the reverend devotion of divinity would be grieviously pained to know that the "poor brother" is fast approaching the mental state that suggests a total repudiation of this relationship, and of all other relationship either of affinity or consanguinity. The predominating impulse of the mangy cur afflicted with flees is to scratch. The social parasites, of whom there is no more bright and shining light than Bro. Buckley, doubtless feel as benevolently towards labor as the fleas do towards the dog. Only, they all strenuously object to the scratching process. That's the trouble. Even a flea would be willing to regard the dog as its brother—if he would obligingly keep quiet. ROSS WINN.

Important Matters.

The people at large are generally better than their laws, better than the creeds which they profess to accept. Our people today are much better than their Bible, and if they were still following the teachings of that book, we should have a most unhappy and unfortunate world indeed. As a rule people never follow the creed that they pretend to follow, and the reason is that people grow and progress, while creeds remain unchanged for an indefinite time. Creeds and laws are entirely wanting in elasticity, and that is their fatal defect. They are never adapted to any particular time except the present moment. This fact is well exemplified in the Constitution of the United States. A hundred years ago, it expressed the sentiments of the people of this country, and it was fairly well adapted to their wants at that period. But at present, and for a long time past, it is and has been a sad misfit. Men want and need a new creed, as the people of the United States want and need a new constitution. What a people thought and believed a hundred or a thousand years ago they could not possibly think and believe today. Hence the need of a change, a radical and complete change. No matter what people as a body profess, nor what line of policy they pursue in practise, they will be found at heart to be honest and true, and uniformly on the side of fair play. If people could only get rid of their prejudices and false impressions, their conduct in life would be greatly improved.

* * *

What may have been the needs or demands of the past does not materially concern us at the present day. The problem to which we should apply ourselves is the problem of today. What is the wise and sensible thing to do today? That is the question and almost the sole question for us now to consider. Let us not allow ourselves to be governed by the dead—by the past, by Bibles, by ancestors, by tradition, by customs, by laws, by constitutions. Let us have a regard for the living, and if we are to be governed at all, let it be by masters and principles that belong to the present.

* * *

We have reached the age of reason—an age such as the world has never known before—an age when not only a few men think, but all mankind think and know and reflect. Men have ceased, or to large extent they are ceasing, to trust in Providence, in God, in angels, in masters and in medicine-men generally. This is an age of pure individuality, an age in which the rights of men are acknowledged at last; an age when it is generally conceded that the work of this world is done solely by the individual, and to him the harvest properly belongs. In the past, and for all the thousands of years that have gone by, the case has been quite different. Until recently the individual man was counted as nothing, while the group, the tribe, the people, society, government, God, were "the whole thing."

* * *

Morals are founded upon customs, and they never have had or can have any higher source than that. Morals change as the feelings and interests of people change. There is nothing in morals that may be regarded as established for all time. They have no support but the opinions of men, and, as we know, the opinions of men are always controlled by interests and feelings.

* * *

What is a law? Merely the dictum of somebody. What is an emperor? A common mortal, just such a man in every respect as we meet in our walks every day. He is often as good as other people, but never any better. His wearing a crown makes no difference in either his worth or power. It only makes him appear a few inches taller. If he wears a gown, that is merely to conceal the fact that he has feet and legs like other people. There is nothing about the dress and appearence of a king that is not meant to deceive and impose upon the multitude. The sole object is to make the king appear to be what he is not—and the same practise is followed, on a smaller scale, by people in the common walks of life.

* * *

Remedy thru law! There is no such thing as a remedy thru law. Law is, in practise, a curse to humanity in general, tho it may result in benefit to a few. Consider the delay and expense of law; consider its injustice and uncertainty. How perfectly helpless the government is to afford relief in emegencies like the coal strike of 1902!

* * *

We first pass laws by which to build up trusts, combinations and millionaires, and then we try to get rid of them. It is not so easily done. They are too strongly fortified. But let it not be forgotten that if we had no laws, we should have no trusts nor combines, nor even millionaires. They would be an impossibility. J. WILSON.

—— o ——

Replies to Critics.

Why is it not worth while trying to answer all the criticasters in the world? For the same reason it is not worth while keeping all the drones—the Malthusian reason, which I rejoice so much in having got thru Tucker's wool,—that they grow like hydra's heads, and the more you satisfy them the less satisfied they are. Yet answering critics, and helping the helpless, is unquestionably, within limits what Egoists call a pleasure and Altruists a duty. What then, are the limits? As concerns critics, I say the limit is passed when they are shown facts and reply with verbiage.

I fear Comrade Byington is getting near the danger line. In last *Liberty*, he says I am vociferating that all Anarchistic progress must rest upon inductive methods, and illustrate them by introducing an important but unlikely statement with the words "my readers will believe without proof." All this can illustrate is a fact, resting on a large induction very familiar to me,—that an intelligent writer is likely to find his reader more stupid than he had supposed possible. It is too much of a "demnition grind" to hunt the statement up—I tried:—but if Comrade Byington will tell me what it is, and in what section it occurs, I will try to give him physical proofs of it. Metaphysical, I do not deal in.

I have not been vociferating that all Anarchistic progress must rest upon inductive methods; but that inductive methods enable us to vindicate Anarchism. Comrade Byington does not want to play dunce at this point. I know him for a man sufficiently educated and intelligent to understand the difference. And if he reflects, he will see that I have restated my position correctly. I have bestowed more words than I shall again on admitting that Anarchism can be deduced from the premises of Egoism, Altruism, Materialism, Christianity or any other metaphysical system with which you choose to start; and that such deductions contribute to Anarchistic progress by helping Egoists, Altruists, Materialists, Christians, and other metaphysicians, over the stiles respectivcly erected by themselves to the endangerment of their own shins. The only misfortune is that anything else may be deduced from any metaphysical premises just as easily as Anarchism can. The advantage of showing that Anarchism can be vindicated by the inductive method consists in this, that the inductive method is the same for all mankind and can be applied to convince any man, absolving us from the necessity of monkeying with his metaphysics, at least until we find out that he has any and have been apprised of what they are.

He only is a critic unworthy reply who has already deduced something practical from his first principle and appeals against the facts to it—who says for example that Mrs. Harris *apud* Gamp is better authority than the registrar general when she condemns vaccination, because vaccination rests on vivisection, and vivisection kills mice, and "justice" forbids killing mice. He is past reasoning with, because his error is circuitous—he has not only an inconsequential premise, whence, if you choose, you can, for his persuasion, draw a reasonable conclusion as easily as his former teachers drew an unreasonable one; but has made the conclusion equally sacred with the premise, and flies from any demonstration of its absurdity to some new way of getting back at it.

Among critics of this kind I should certainly reckon Tucker, but for his conversion about Malthus. That gives me hope.

"While the lamp holds out to burn."

He says my statements are unworthy any attention beeause I discovered some time ago that Karl Marx was an Anarchist. As I have given historical evidence of my discovery, and as Tucker has only raged, not reasoned, against it, I consider myself ahead and wait for him to come up. The case is entirely similar about Proudhon's being a Catholic and Bakunin's not being a materialist—or, at least, if I have not shown it, I will on demand, and decline to take mere abuse for that. A few citations to show that Proudhon was something else than a Catholic or that Bakunin did not understand his Hegel any better than to have a theory of the universe, would put me under obligations. This, however, I shall not get till I say that Stirner was an altruist, Schopenhauer an optimist, Ibsen is in favor of the subjection of women, Henry George not a traitor, Bryan a gold bug, Roosevelt not an actor, and myself an honest man. The outlook is gloomy. But I like to think the best of everyone. So I hope Stirner was an altruist, Schopenhauer an optimist, and George not a traitor; that Roosevelt is an actor (I had thought he was a clown); and that Tucker is an honest man, whose strong and frequent appearance of charlatanism is all due his being somewhat muddled up with metaphysics. C. L. JAMES.

FREE SOCIETY

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1903.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

On Saturday, December 5, FREE SOCIETY will give a grand ball.

* * *

This issue closes Section XI of Comrade C. L. James' "Vindication of Anarchism." There still remains to be published Section XII, dealing with personal conduct, and a conclusion, which summarizes the whole course. As this series is already much longer than anticipated, and the remaining portion very long, that will not be concluded in FREE SOCIETY, but will be reserved for prospective publication in book form.

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

* * *

Comrade M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way, New York, has kindly volunteered to visit all the delinquent subscribers and collect money for us, and we hope that all those in arrears will aid him by leaving the money ready at their addresses, or seeing him at his bookstore, which would save him carfare and time.

—o—

For Chicago.

The Pioneer Aid and Support Association cordially invites all liberal societies and trade unions to send delegates to the meeting taking place Sunday, October 4, 10 a. m., where matters concerning the Eleventh of November celebration are to be discussed. On the other hand, the Pioneer Aid and Support Association has made it its object to keep the monument of our murdered comrades in good order, and as this often exceeds the means the association has on hand, it makes it desirable that all liberal societies join us in the effort to keep the judicial crime perpetrated in 1887 before the people.

ERNEST HUEBNER, Sec.

—o—

For Chicago.

The Workingmen's Educational Club will meet every Saturday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, in Pordgess Hall, cor. Maxwell & Jefferson.

Outpost Echoes.

Lawmakers are law breakers.

* * *

Progress has no need of fraud.

* * *

Suffering asks the social question.

* * *

The great soul must seek to be free.

* * *

Wrong-doers are not causes, but effects.

* * *

Liberty does not worry about her reputation.

* * *

"Business" is the alias which exploitation takes.

* * *

It is better to die for the truth than to live for a lie.

* * *

The greatest of thoughts is that of solidarity thru freedom.

* * *

Those who go to falsehood's schools will learn to laugh at the truth.

* * *

The wish is father to the thought with many who declare man to be a savage.

* * *

Roosevelt reeks with patriotism, but rides on special trains at the expense of robber corporations.

* * *

Trades unionism is suffering from an overdose of officialism, and must die or use a stomach pump.

* * *

The governor of Colorado sends troops to Cripple Creek not to settle the strike, but to settle the strikers.

* * *

Senator Smoot, being a Mormon, is not to be allowed to boodle with the rest of the senators if the Woman's Christian Temperance Union can help it.

* * *

Prof. Coe of Northwestern University says that "the consciousness of sin is decaying." Well, are not many college professors engaged in justifying the sins of the rich?

* * *

The wet-nurse of fools who edits the Hearst papers wants the "Christian nations" of the earth to wipe out the sultan's government. Which are the Christian nations?

* * *

"Strikes are the signboards of prosperity," says Chauncey M. Depew. "You never hear of strikes in hard times." Let us see: low wages are the common cause of strikes, so low wages go along with "prosperity." Whose prosperity? Why, Chauncey's.

* * *

The sweatshops of Chicago are to be investigated again. What politician is now looking for a soft job, that he goes about pretending that he wants fair conditions for labor? In a little while all will be as it has been; except that the politician will have his job.

* * *

An eastern heiress, Miss Goelet, is buying a Scottish duke for several millions of dollars, cash down. The high type of morality illustrated in this woman's action is worthy of being placed side by side with the method by which the Goelet millions were got together.

* * *

The coal trust is keeping up the price of coal while the supply is larger than usual, and the public pays for being made a fool of. The sufferings of underpaid miners are acute enough, but the sufferings of millions of workers who must buy coal dwarf these into insignificance. When will the people strike, and effectively?

* * *

American trades unionism, with that of England, is about to fight some hard battles with corporations who have sued unions, hoping to tie up their funds and so cripple them. In these struggles labor will finally learn that law has no pity upon it and that the "machinery of justice" is only the machinery of an inquisition.

* * *

John Mitchell has arrived at the solution of strike problems, he informs the world; arbitration being, in one form or another, the means. When John Mitchell can tell us how the tides of the sea can arbitrate with a wall built to exclude them, and thus settle their differences, we will believe that labor can thus settle its differences with slavery.

* * *

Steel trust stocks have gone down and down until thousands of small holders face financial ruin. The inducements which the great robbers hold out to possessors of small capital, to join them and live upon the workers being thus exposed in their true nature, perhaps some of these small holders will now see the workers with changed eyes.

* * *

The *Literary Digest*, in its issue of Sept. 12, gives nearly a page to the discussion of lynching from the Anarchist point of view, quoting from *The Demonstrator*, *Liberty*, and FREE SOCIETY. The article is accompanied by cartoons showing the "respectable and prominent citizen" in jail for the crime of lynching. If an average newspaper man sees the article, he will, of course, pay no attention to its statements and disavowals, but will go right on playing the double role of a friend of truth who is trying to have truth choked.

* * *

Many who love freedom, and many who would lay down their lives in her service, abhor freedom (paradoxically) when she appears in sexual guise, and turn their backs upon her. But freedom comes not to part of life, but to the whole. She would lift all the burdens off our backs and break every chain. The man who demurs to sexual freedom, the man, or woman, who would retain power over another of the opposite sex because of sex, must learn his lessons anew at the feet of freedom. No one can love freedom and at the same time hate her.

* * *

Anarchism says to the rioting, quarreling, fearful world, "What is it that you get into such passions over? What is it that you

fight about? What is it that you are afraid of?" And when the answer comes back, "Every man is his fellow's enemy; every man must enter a struggle for bread; every man is afraid of want and suffering," Anarchism rejoins: "This is all unnecessary. Do but understand your normal relation to one another; do but see opportunity in all her amplitude; do but try the joys of friendship and trust; and all the horrors of pain, hate, and fear will clear away like clouds before the sun. There is enough of everything for all." A few hear her words and remember; and these few are the hope of the world.

* * *

A monument to McKinley was unveiled in Toledo recently; more than a hundred thousand people witnessing the deification. If it were not too late I would recommend that the following words be engraved upon the base of the monument for the edification of patriots and school children: "To the memory of William McKinley, who with official documents in his possession acceding to all the demands made by the United States government upon Spain, deliberately concealed, and denied possessing such documents, and for his own glorification declared a war that cost thousands of human lives, and made disconsolate children and mothers in two continents. He died, as he lived, for the good of an ignoble ambition."

* * *

The New Jersey street car magnates, whose cars carelessly handled, and insufficiently guarded against accidents, killed several children in a collision recently, were indicted by a grand jury, to be sure; but no sooner did they appear before a judge for trial, than that (un)worthy ordered a jury to bring in a verdict of not guiluy. The lesson is twofold to those who can learn; laws were made for the lawmakers and their friends, including all who become powerful enough to make their power a valuable asset: that is the first lesson; the second one is, that laws made to reform laws and lawgivers are generally interpreted in such a way that they have no effectiveness. New government or old, new laws or old, those in power are at once laws and lawgivers. AMERICUS.

—o—

The great reforms which followed the publication of the "Wealth of Nations" may all be summed up in the word Repeal. Commerce was regulated in former times by a number of paternal laws, which have since been, happily, withdrawn.—Winwood Reade.

—o—

The law is simply a system of fossilized injustice; there is not enough of intellectual interest about it to occupy an intelligent man for an hour.—Durant.

—o—

For San Francisco.

The Anarchist propaganda is now carried on every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at Knights of Red Branch Hall, 1133 Mission St. Discussion and free platform.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB.

Splinters.

In prison there is only one important topic of interest: how to get out.

* * *

Is it not a little queer that so many total abstainers are so seldom sober?

* * *

It is to be hoped that Moses Harman is not contemplating taking orders as a Catholic priest. He is, however, as he frequently reminds us, old enough to be the father of quite a flock.

* * *

If you want to see Tucker "lose his head," mention the word Communism. It usually has about the same effect on him as a red cloth has on a bull; and his wild talk on the subject somewhat resembles the antics of that animal when in rage, with the same result: he soon gets into a tangle. (Advertisement.—This is not an "argument.")

* * *

My little note about the saint-making tendency of our "New York Italian Anarchists," has been subject to some misapprehension. It was not intended as a fling at a special memmorial number issued by the New York comrades for the 29th of July; but was rather directed at certain features of this number and other papers, not only in New York but other places as well. It was an error to confine the criticism to the New York comrades. Some of the pictures the Italian comrades have been publishing of Bresci need only a halo to make a finished saint. JR.

—o—

Here and There.

Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre is now in England, and will probably deliver several addresses there.

The Russian government has appropriated $7,000,000 for the purpose of strengthening the police force in the districts of the peasantry.

We are glad to announce the appearance of the first Russian Anarchist paper—the first for this present movement. It bears the title *Hleb i Volya* (bread and liberty), that is the same title as Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread" has in the Russian translation. It can be had from E. Held, Geneva, Switzerland.

Altho it has not yet been decided when the Russian czar is going to visit his fellow parasite in Italy, the Italian government is already arresting "suspicious" Anarchists.

Il Pensiero is a new Italian Anarchist paper, published in Rome. It is a semi-monthly, in magazine form. Pietro Gori and Luigi Fabbri are the editors. It is an important addition to the Anarchist press, and it is to be hoped will meet with a deserved success. Address Casella postale 142, Rome.

—o—

LETTER BOX.

J. G., Chicago.—FREE SOCIETY does not issue a German edition, hence we cannot comply with your request.

C. R., New York.—The paper is sent to your address regularly, and if you do not receive it, you should remonstrate at your postoffice. Back numbers were sent.

J. A. Andrews.

J. A. Andrews, a prominent comrade of Australia, whom many readers of the *Firebrand* will remember for his able contributions to that paper, died the latter part of July in Melbourne. For many years his name has been conspicuously associated with the Anarchist movement in Australia. During the time of police persecution ten or twelve years ago, when to be an Anarchist meant economic hardship and many terms in jail, he was especially active. He was the editor of *Reason*, *Anarchy*, and I believe one or two other Anarchist papers. He wrote "Temple Mystic and other Poems," a collection of poems on miscelleneous topics, some on social questions and many rather pessimistic, but of high literary value; and a novel, "Freedom," of much less originality and power. At one time he wished to join the *Firebrand* group, and made several attempts to secure passage to the United States, but failed. For several years he had been more retiring, doing literary work on the *Tocsin*, a labor paper at Melbourne. He was buried on July 28, 1903, in Baroondara cemetery. Tom Mann, Frank Austley and J. W. Fleming made short addresses. I regret that I do not have more particular information about this valued comrade.

JR.

—o—

Why the Kaffir Won.

In the gold mines of the Rand, before the great war, there were some 90,000 black men working, and these men were paid the wage of £2 10s. a month. When the war was over the great mine owners of the Rand all agreed that in the future they would only pay these natives £1 10s. a month. Then, too, like the Denaby miners, these ignorant Kaffirs refused to work, and they stayed in their homes. . . . At last the mine owners of the Rand, the millionaires, the multi-millionaires, submitted. They raised the wages of the black miners to £3 a month, and the black miners, getting all they asked for, poured into work.

So ended the strike of the black miners.

And now, what was the reason the ignorant Kaffir succeded in maintaining his freedom, while the free-born Englishman has to acknowledge himself a slave?

This it is.

When the Kaffir struck work he returned to his kraal. There he was part owner in the tribal lands. He grew maize and pumpkins to eat, there was milk and beer for him to drink, and a roof to shelter him. He did not starve, for he had access to the land on which he could support himself till he cared to go back to work.

The free-born Englishman, the Denaby miner, had no land of his own to go to. From that on which he lived he was ejected by the owner. He had to work in the mines, on the mine owners' terms, or starve.

The land of the Kaffirs belongs to all of the Kaffirs.

The land of the English belongs to only a few of the English.

That is why the English miner was beaten in the strike and the Kaffir succeeded.—The Johannesburg *Tribune*.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

NOTE TO SECTION XI (concluded).

The full-blown phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, observes, which Mr. Podmore also did, the resemblance of those telepathic and (alleged) telekinetic powers exhibited by the subliminal self to those of the lowest animals, as the rhizopod, which also move and seem to perceive without any organs, either of sense or volition. A natural inference (drawn *hypothetically* by Mr. Podmore), is that these powers belong to unspecialized protoplasm, and are exhibited, in the human subjects, by portions of the protoplasm remaining unspecialized, such as we knew before there were. The Movement in Favor of Ignorance has no doubt about it. As in all other phases, it is satisfied with the slightest presumption, which suits its preconceived notions; and with no proof which does not. It calls suspense of judgment (about original creation by an intelligent first cause) *an assumption;* and it takes the *inerrancy of a rhizopod's instincts for a demonstrated fact!* (see Hudson, "Divine Pedigree of Man"). It pronounces Häckel's dictum that we must, for want of any other definitely conceivable hypothesis, suppose protoplasm to have sprung from inorganic matter, a monstrous theory without a fact to sustain it, and contrary to all the (negative) results of experiment: but is ready to suppose that protoplasm was created by the Divine Will without any intermediate process of evolution; and that the Divine Intelligence differentiated animal protoplasm from vegetal by infusing into the latter *inerrant* instincts! One of these is that which I have elsewhere designated as the play-instinct (which now, however, has somehow nothing to do with the chemical changes going on continuously in protoplasm)—the same which Froebel pronounced, on grounds elsewhere explained, "the creative instinct"; and which Dr. Hudson dignifies as the "altruistic." The "instinct of self-preservation," tho evidently resolvable into the factors of appetite and fear, whose action, in our Section XII, is found deducible from the play-instinct, belongs, under this system, to quite another sphere from the "altruistic." Henceforth synthesis proceeds rapidly. Simple mechanical explanations are, in accordance with well known scientific principles, ("this is sarkasm,") *eschewed* whenever possible, in favor of "inerrant" instinct. The rhizopod does not split in two when he becomes too heavy for his strength; tho, according to the most obvious mechanical law, he must do that—he propagates by fission obediently to his altruistic instinct! Thus are engendered multitudes, which, migrating into unpropitious environments, no longer find "inerrant" instincts work! They become thinned out by natural selection; which thus causes morphological development. Darwinism, we are triumphantly reminded, does not show how it can cause physiological—that the new phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance does not explain this differentiation either, was left for me to mention. Among the morphological changes induced by natural selection is development of a brain, which performs inductions, and by their suggestion keeps the subliminal self, with its "inerrant instincts," out of mischief. Experiences, on which inductions are founded, becoming stereotyped (as Herbert Spencer and his school have always taught), grow into "secondary" instincts. The latter all belong to the "subjective mind" or subliminal self. These hypotheses do not appear to harmonize very well with that belief that the subliminal self is the immortal Soul, which was suggested by Spiritualistic phenomena. Their natural conclusion would be that the subliminal self *is the brute in man*, which, since he possesses a brain or "objective mind," cannot absolutely prevent his learning anything, but, as shown by the fact that a Movement in Favor of Ignorance exists, does make him awfully hate to! However, we are told that among these secondary instincts is Conscience. Since the evolution of Conscience, the "auto suggestions" of "instincts" in the "subjective mind," have "rightfully and normally assumed ascendancy" over the suggestions of induction thru the objective mind. This being so, it seems very unfortunate that they are no longer inerrant. But Dr. Hudson cannot deny the fact. "Perverted conscience," he informs us, gave rise to the Inquisition, to religious wars, and to all the schemes of cranky reformers, for whom he seems to have a wholesome antipathy. In this life, "the subjective mind" still needs an "educator," which is no other than the objective—induction, in this world of error, is still the "judicial" authority for both minds. Well stuck to, this would be very consolatory. The misfortune is that the previous reasoning harmonizes exactly with that of the Eddyites and Occultists; the individuals who have very lately assured us, in journals by no means unknown to American Anarchists, that there are profound (but not explained) differences between "animal instinct, human intuition, and inherited prejudice," and who enlarge our view of the matter by giving as examples of the second, at one time the established law of marriage, at another the diagnoses of mental healers! They assure us, just like Dr. Hudson, that the instincts of the subjective mind are rightfully and normally assuming ascendancy over poor Induction. "Intellect and reason appear *first* on earth," says one of them (the italics being his own), "because they are of the lower plane, and the lower must precede the higher, it is the order of progression." I had an idea myself (and in entertaining it I seem to have the pleasure of agreeing with Dr. Hudson) that instinct preceded intellect and reason by a few million years: but as we got that notion from geology, itself a product of intellect and reason, it must be "on the lower plane," and will soon have to stand aside before the dogmatism of Elijah Dowie. I still fail to see ground in these speculations for thinking otherwise than that the subliminal self is the brute in man, plus the savage, and the prejudices we inherit from him. Nor is Dr. Hudson consistent in loyalty to Induction, even for earthly purposes, when he tries to prove the contrary by reference to genius and to the extraordinary feats performed automatically under strong excitement. Genius, he admits, is an abnormal phenomenon; but, worse than that, the genius of a Blind Tom *belongs very clearly to the objective mind*—it is an *excessive development of the tune-sense, and its appropriate organs, which robs other parts of the brain.* As to feats performed automatically under excitement, they simply prove that the man who, tho unable in his normal state to climb, swarms up a flagstaff when a mad bull is after him, may *find some advantage in reversion to the monkey, when placed again amidst monkey circumstances.* If he does not propose to remain a monkey, no such reversion can be permanently beneficial. And here the question becomes very pertinent, why, if reversion to the government of instinct be our future, did we ever cease being monkeys? Or ever get as far as being monkeys? I can understand a rhizopod's wanting to be a man, if a rhizopod were, as I had hitherto supposed, a very feeble stupid creature, liable to be snapped up by the nearest whale. But if he already possessed "inerrant instincts," it seems to me his ambition was very foolish. He would have done much better to remain a rhizopod and be thankful!

Still, therefore, the speculations seem to indicate (their data do very strongly) that "the subliminal self," incapable of induction, and subject to every suggestion, is *the condition of Man, when he is "mad, drunk, or a fool"!* The prospect of having it prolonged to Eternity seems uncheerful. I am fain to say with Huxley, that I see no advantage in having such a destiny proved, except perhaps to furnish an additional argument against suicide!

Dr. Hudson, however, is fertile in explanations. Induction, he tells us, is necessary only in this world of illusions. In "the sphere of pure truth" we shall receive suggestions from none but God. And now for the first time we begin to know something about what God is—which, to be sure, does sound encouraging. But, alas! the next word plunges us into "frog's spawn" and "slime," again! God, it appears, is like the rhizopod, except that he needs no instinct of self-preservation. His other inerrant instincts are enough. They are those of the rhizopod extended to Infinity. He is pure altruism. Behold the unfailing mark of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance under all its forms! With loud pretentions to novelty it is (because it departs from the inductive method) entirely the reverse of new. This God is an old acquaintance. He is the God of Brahminical theosophy. He is, we are assured, omniscient (with nothing to know), omnipotent (with nothing to do), and he is Love (with nothing to love but himself). The suggestion may sound profane; but I find myself unable to imagine a being more unpleasantly situated; that is, with an environment more unsuited to his powers. The position of a solitary prisoner evolving a fantastic world from those emotions which he has no opportunity to exercise objectively, comes nearer than anything else. And accordingly, the happiness of an insane eternity is to consist in the worship of an Infinite Lunatic! There needs but one more revelation to complete the scheme: and in that Theosophy derived from the Buddhistized Tantras of India, it already looms on the horizon. Reincarnations, with re-development of inductive objective brains, should teach these improved rhizopods, one by one, the futility of living, till "suggestion" should put that into the mind of the primor-

dial moneron himself, and "life's fitful fever" end in the Nirvana of voluntary annihilation!

And is this so? Is *Buddhism* destined to be the universal religion of the future? I have said the propositions leading up to it are not at all new. Epicurus, Byron's Lucifer (which seems suggestive), Macbeth, and Mr. Edwin Arnold, have among them familiarized us with pretty much all, long since. Neither is it a pleasant creed. But if it be true, and the truth in which Science and Religion are reconciled, as Dr. Hudson seems to think, such little things as its being old and ugly should not stand in the way of an inductive philosopher's embracing it. I might think it was true, but for a few observations elsewhere made. One of them is that that projection of emotion into objectivity which constitutes Beautiful Art, does actually produce happiness, and so refutes Pessimism. Another is that induction in the form of Useful Art, removes obstacles to happiness, and by no means suggests reversion into the moneron stage of existence as the *summum bonum*. Still another is that the forms of genius into which creative energy, ultimately as far as we know, casts itself, are not of the subjective mind, or brute in man, but, as above shown, of the objective. Abnormal, Dr. Hudson admits them with reference to individual purposes in an environment, of which one principal part is a very bad social state; but they are not abnormal with reference to human progress or to a possible higher state of the individual. For these three reasons, essentially but two, it seems as tho the Volition to Do were what is carrying man on in a course of indefinite progress towards the level of a source which cannot be below the stream. And if we refer to those actual reversions, or *eddies*, which do fall below the point to which this volition has so far carried human progress, we find nothing new about them. The Tantras have been called "so ineffably absurd that it seems incredible human beings should believe them." But we need only read a typical journal of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance to learn that human beings, starting with premises like theirs', may quickly come to believe in similar results—in the methods of "Jesus the Christ" and still earlier thaumaturgists; in the speaking altar and the Praying Wheel! C. L. JAMES.

[See note on page four.]

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Admissions of an Enemy.

I think anyone who reflects for a moment on the conditions of human society must see that government has no capacity for benevolence whatever. Any scheme of benevolence by government, whether it be called protection to domestic labor, subsidies to home industries, fair trade, or retaliation against a foreign enemy for alleged maltreatment of domestic producers, always marks a scheme of plunder. A moment's reflection will show that this must be so. The highest excellence that the best government can reach is to do justice.* Where it attempts to do more than justice it succeeds in doing injustice. A government can do mischief—in that respect its powers are limitless. But I repeat it has no power of beneficence whatever. It can enforce justice upon everyone subject to its jurisdiction. Having done that, all its power for good is exhausted. A government can create nothing. It cannot by legislative enactment or judicial decree, or executive command, cause two blades of grass to grow where one grew before. It cannot make a withered tree blossom or a barren field fruitful. It cannot summon stones from their bed in the earth and make them form walls to enclose a building. It cannot command a tree to fall in the forest, and divide itself into planks and boards, from which chairs and tables may be made. All these results can be accomplished only by the labor of human hands. Since government of itself can create nothing, it can have nothing of its own to bestow on anybody. It cannot, then, be both just and generous at the same time, for if it be generous to some it must be oppressive to others. If it undertake to enrich one man, the thing which it gives him it must take from some other man. If it have a favorite, it must have a victim; and that government only is good, that government only is great, that government only is just, which has neither favorites nor victims. While a government has nothing of its own to bestow on anybody, it can, directly by confiscation or indirectly by partial taxation, divert from one man the things created by his toil into the possession of another man, and it is this power which some men are constantly seeking to persuade government, under various pretenses and disguises, to exercise for their benefit and the oppression of their fellows.—Bourke Cockran, in an address at the National Liberal Club, London.

* Very beautiful in theory, but utopian. What government has ever succeeded in "doing justice," taking for granted that it had a desire to do so, and made the attempt? JR.

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The Situation in Spain.

Our Spanish comrades have of late been doing excellent work. First of all the general strike decreed from one end of the country to the other to protest against the illegal detention of comrades arrested during the troubles that occured at different times and in various places of the peninsula within the last few months, and to compel the government to restore them to liberty.

One must not try to form for oneself an idea of that event on the single authority of information published on the subject in the daily press in England. In fact, all communications on the subject were submitted to a rigorous censorship, and nothing was allowed to pass that spoke of the success of the strikers, while official news, pointing out the failure of the movement, was supplied by the news agencies.

One must not forget, too, that the general strike, which had not the slightest economical foundation, was not destined to last long. As a matter of fact, in the most places its duration was fixed beforehand to three, two, and in some instances, one day, and was more of the natnre of the stop days indulged in, for different reasons, by the English colliers. But everywhere the engagements taken were faithfully fulfilled, and the moral effect of that splendid manifestation of solidarity has been such that the government has had to give way, and that most of the victims have been set free, among them our good friend Ignacio Claria, the valiant editor of *La Huelga General* (the general strike) of Barcelona.

The libertarian press is still ploughing ahead, and in Spain there are now about twenty different Anarchist periodicals, one and all fulfilling their mission of the education of the masses. Foremost among them is of course, *Tierra y Libertad*, which since the beginning of last month, from a weekly became a daily paper, and has met with extraordinary success in its new form. The machinery available is hardly equal to the task of supplying the demand for copies, which is enormous, and the editor, our friend Urales, and his clever wife Toledad Gustavo, are at their wits end to meet it.

The movement is going on splendidly in most of the other Spanish speaking countries, as is proved by the recent general strikes in Chili, Argentinia, and Cuba. In Argentina the republican government enacted some time back special legislation against the Anarchists. But the Argentine capitalist depends on the European immigration, and as in consequence of the agitation made in Spain and Italy against that exceptional legistation, a serious falling off of the immigrants' return has been stated, the bourgeoisie of Argentina would fain destroy what they once considered an infallible panacea against Anarchist agitation. Indications to that effect are to be found in the recent release of all the comrades sentenced to long terms of penal servitude last year after the general strike in Buenos Ayres.

In Cuba, the propaganda is making great strides among the white and colored population. *Tierra* is an excellent Anarchist paper, ably edited by Comrade Palmiro de Lidia, who, besides, wrote lately *El Ideal del Siglo XX* ("The Ideal of the Twentieth Century"), an excellent pamphlet, and has just issued a charming book *Guentos Inverosimiles* ("Unlikely Stories"), which besides its libertarian tendencies, is a perfect jewel of literature and a real masterpiece, which we should like to see translated into English, if a translator could be found who would be able to do justice to the book.—*Tarrida del Marmol, in Freedom.*

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Each of us has his peculiar physiognomy and his peculiar manners, that distinguish him from his battle-comrades. And so we are not astonished, that the revolutionaries in regard to their strength are very diversified in regard to their means. One asks, where the right tactics lie. They stand everywhere in relation to the sum of energy which one brings into the struggle. But we give no one the right to say: "Our method of propaganda is alone good. Outside of ours there is no cure." That is an old remnant of belief in authority, from which the false or true law sprang, that the men of freedom cannot support.—Emile Henry.

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We find in the history of all usurping governments, time changes anomaly into system, and injury into right; examples beget custom, and custom ripens into law; and the doubtful precedent of one generation becomes the fundamental maxim of another.—Hallam.

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